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The project was designed to follow up a specific population of young men from 11 rural counties in eastern Kentucky, who at the time of the study in 1960 had been out of the eighth grade for 10 years. The sample consisted of 307 men taken from eighth grade enrollment lists for the school year 1949-50. The purpose of the study was to investigate differences in sociocultural origins and migration patterns between individuals residing within the eastern Kentucky area and those who had migrated and taken up residence outside that area. The conclusions of the study indicated that most of the men came from very large, rural families with little formal education on the part of the parents, nearly half of the men completed high school, most of the men had all of their formal schooling in eastern Kentucky, and most of the men who left the area did so in the initial stages of the ten-year period. Related documents are RC 003 283 and ED 019 157. (JM)

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Sociocultural Origins and Migration Patterns of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

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Lexington

In cooperation with

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PREFACE

This is the first of a series of reports on a study of young men who were enrolled in the 8th grade during the school year 1949-50 in 11 eastern Kentucky counties. These men were followed up and interviewed where they lived in the summer of 1960.

This report compares individuals residing *within* the eastern Kentucky area with those who had migrated and taken up residence *outside* that area; sociocultural origins and migration patterns of both segments are discussed.

Other reports in this series will focus on the career placement and economic life chances of these youths, and the interrelationships between family ties, migration, and the transitional adjustment of migrants.

A more detailed, technical explanation of the research design, field work procedures, and estimation of the study population's representativeness is available (RS Report 21) from the Rural Sociology Department, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

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Sociocultural Origins and Migration Patterns of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

By HARRY K. SCHWARZWELLER

In eastern Kentucky job opportunities for young people are very limited. The economy of this sub-region of the Southern Appalachians is based, in the main, on extractive industries, which operate at a marginal level of productivity.¹ Each year thousands of youths come of age and seek employment. Since far too few positions become available in eastern Kentucky for those wanting work, many young people look elsewhere. Thus, a significant characteristic of the area is the great stream of out-migration, particularly young people, to industrial areas in the Ohio Valley.

Professional persons working with rural youths in eastern Kentucky are aware of the critical part that migration plays in the career considerations, plans, and economic life chances of these youths. However, the development of effective guidance programs is hindered by a lack of reliable basic information. A simple, and yet extremely important, question that must be asked before such programs can be developed is "What happens to young people in eastern Kentucky after they leave school?" Certainly any resident of eastern Kentucky can cite numerous case examples they know; however, the risk of error is very high in generalizing from a few cases to a larger population.

Often a second important question is posed: "By completing a high school education, does a young person in eastern Kentucky enhance his life chances in the adult occupational world?" That question has its origin in statistics on school completions which reveal that the dropout rate in eastern Kentucky is markedly higher relative to other areas of the United States.² It is natural, therefore, to ask whether completion of school affects what happens to individuals after they leave school. Commonly accepted assumptions are rather

¹ See Robert E. Galloway, *Rural Manpower in Eastern Kentucky*, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 627 (June 1955).

² To compare eastern Kentucky counties with averages for the State of Kentucky, see Tables 22, 23, and 24 in James S. Brown and Ralph J. Ramsey, *The Changing Kentucky Population*, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. Prog. Rep. 67 (September 1958).

tenuous because the sociocultural circumstances and situational conditions confronting eastern Kentucky youths are usually quite different from those confronting youths in other regions of the United States.

The broad questions stated above indicate the practical concern in this field study which deals with the influence of education and migration on the social and economic adjustments of young men entering the labor force from rural counties of eastern Kentucky.

This first report describes the sociocultural origins, background characteristics, migratory patterns, and residential mobility aspirations of the study population. It is anticipated that the information will interest professional people and others concerned with youth guidance programs in the area and, therefore, will be useful in the development of more effective programs.

STUDY DESIGN AND PROCEDURES³

The project was designed to follow up a specific population of young men who, at the time of field work in 1960, had been 10 years out of the eighth grade in school and, therefore, would normally have completed formal education and compulsory military service and would be established more or less in their work careers. It was expected that approximately half of these youths would have migrated from eastern Kentucky during the 10-year period and taken up residence in the Ohio Valley and elsewhere.

Eighth grade enrollment lists for the school year 1949-50 were obtained from 11 eastern Kentucky counties (Breathitt, Elliott, Estill, Jackson, Lee, Magoffin, Menifee, Morgan, Owsley, Powell, Wolfe) which form a closed cluster in the west-central portion of that sub-region (Fig. 1). Only one of the counties (Estill) contains a town large enough to be termed "urban"; all of them can be classified as "low-income" rural counties, with an economic base dominated by small scale commercial and subsistence agriculture and some marginal mining operations. Various methods were used in ascertaining the 1960 residence location of youths in the study. Field work was limited to the Ohio-Kentucky area. A team of trained interviewers administered the schedules during the early summer months of 1960. In total, 307 interviews were completed and provide the data upon which this report is based.⁴

³ For a more comprehensive treatment of the study design, see Harry K. Schwarzweller, *Research Design, Field Work Procedures, and Data Collection Problems in a Follow-up Study of Young Men From Eastern Kentucky*, University of Kentucky Rural Sociology Department RS 21 (May 1963).

⁴ See *ibid.* for an estimation of the study population's representativeness.

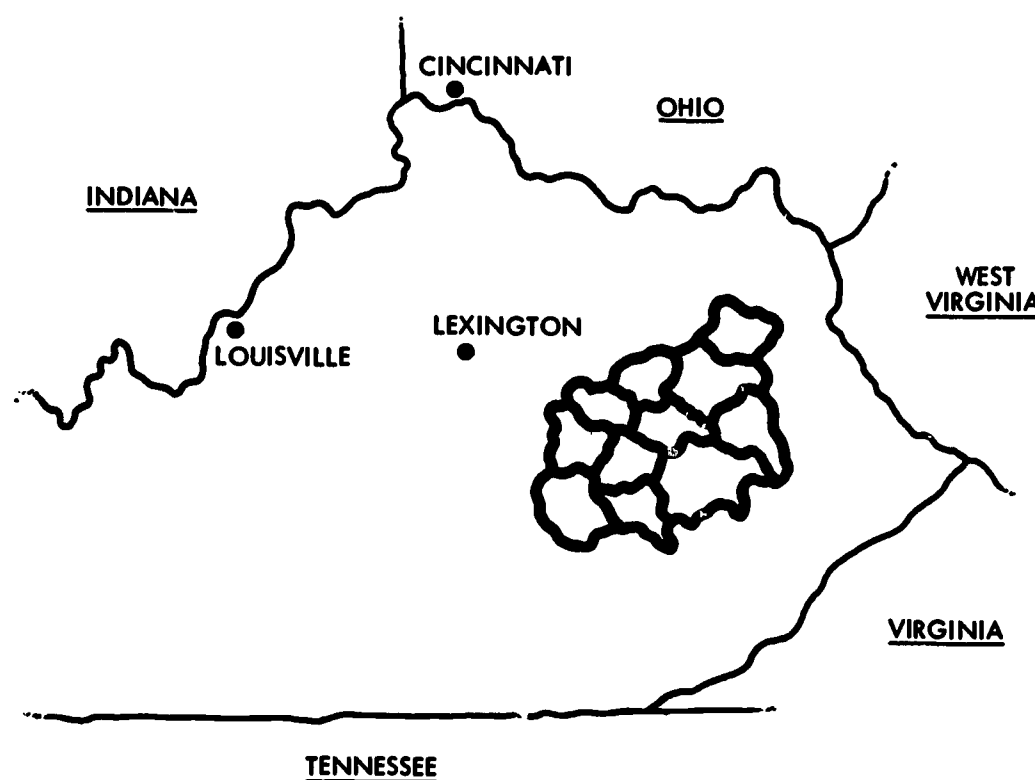


Fig. 1.— The 11 eastern Kentucky counties from which the study population was drawn are in State Economic Areas 8 and 9. The counties are Breathitt, Elliott, Estill, Jackson, Lee, Magoffin, Menifee, Morgan, Owsley, Powell and Wolfe.

The study is conceptualized in terms of two segments of the same base population; we are dealing with young men newly recruited to the labor force from rural areas of eastern Kentucky, some of whom had entered the labor force *within* eastern Kentucky and some of whom had migrated and entered the labor force *outside* eastern Kentucky.

Thus, a "nonmigrant" is defined as an individual who was residing within the eastern Kentucky area included in State Economic Areas 8 and 9, as delineated by the U. S. Census. "Migrant," on the other hand, refers to an individual who was residing outside the eastern Kentucky area but within the boundaries of Ohio and Kentucky.

These definitions are arbitrary and somewhat coarse in distinction. As will be shown later, many young men who were classed as "nonmigrants" had established residence outside eastern Kentucky during the 10-year period, but had moved back prior to 1960. Similarly, some of the "migrants" had moved out of eastern Kentucky, then back, then out again prior to 1960. Furthermore, residential movement across county boundaries within the area occurred, and certainly the social and economic consequences of such intra-area movement may be as great or perhaps greater than movement from eastern Kentucky to areas in the industrial Ohio Valley. The reason for employing the

above-given definitions of migrants and nonmigrants, however, is based upon the nature of the specific research problem. Because the eastern Kentucky economy is dominated by extractive industries whereas the Ohio Valley economy is dominated by manufacturing industries, the proposed definitions distinguish between the two segments in terms of the nature of job opportunities available to young men from low-income rural counties of eastern Kentucky.

The remainder of this report describes who these men were, where they came from, where they had been, how they were living at the time of the survey, and what their plans were with respect to future residential movement.

SECTION ONE

SOCIOCULTURAL ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Before proceeding with a comparative description of the sociocultural origins and background characteristics of migrants and nonmigrants, an important point needs to be emphasized. The selectivity of migration may account for some of the differences in patterns of what happened to these two segments over the course of time. Those individuals who sought jobs outside the eastern Kentucky area may be quite different, in many important respects, from those who remained and took jobs within the area. These differences in sociocultural origins and background characteristics may have influenced the subsequent career patterns and life chances of the men. For the purposes of this study, any similarities and differences in backgrounds between these two segments must be noted. If one can have some measure of assurance that both segments are drawn from similar sociocultural circumstances, then he can assume that observed differences between the two segments in 1960 were due more to regional variations in opportunities and to cultural experiences which intervened during the decade than to differences in social factors before migration. This rather simple logical point is crucial in the interpretation of findings of this study.

Counties of Origin

First, it will be of interest to note the counties of origin of these young men. (Table 1). Variations in the proportions of migrants and nonmigrants from each of the 11 counties were not necessarily due to differences in the rates of out-migration from the counties and should not be interpreted as such. Other factors were certainly

Table 1.—Region of Residence in 1960 of Young Men Who Were Enrolled in the Eighth Grade in 11 Eastern Kentucky Counties in 1950, by Counties of Origin in 1950

Region of Residence 1960	Total		Counties of Origin, 1950 (Numbers of Men Only)										
	All Counties		Breathitt	Elliott	Fossil	Jackson	Lee	Magoffin	Menifee	Morgan	Owsley	Powell	Wolfe
	Number	%											
Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)	157	51.1	12	7	24	20	5	26	10	24	14	12	3
Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	150	48.9	23	6	23	19	14	8	7	20	13	5	12
Total (study population)	307	100.0	35	13	47	39	19	34	17	44	27	17	15

responsible for some of the variations; for example, the thoroughness and accuracy in tracing the 1960 residence location of the young men varied from county to county. These sampling variations, however, do not markedly affect the generality of the findings since the socio-cultural circumstances in the 11 counties included in this study are not vastly different. Ten of the counties are in State Economic Area 8; Breathitt, the only exception, is contiguous to 4 of these 10, and, although classified in State Economic Area 9, it is not unlike its neighboring counties in most respects.⁵

Age Differences

By selecting the study population from a single school grade population, the age factor was held constant within rather narrow limits. For nonmigrants, the average age at last birthday was 24.89 years, with 81.4 percent of those individuals falling in the age categories of 24 to 26 years. For migrants, the average age was 24.85 years, with 79.2 percent falling in the age span 24 to 26 years at last birthday. Thus, there were no meaningful age differences between the two segments and very little difference in age between individuals within each of the segments.

Number of Siblings in Family

In an area dominated by a subsistence-level agricultural economy, one would expect that a greater proportion of male out-migrants would stem from larger families than their counterparts who remain behind. It could be reasoned that a young man from a small family with few or no brothers or sisters would be influenced to stay at home to contribute directly to the family's sustenance, to help with the farm work, and eventually to take over management of the family farm.⁶ The departure of an individual from a small family would more likely disrupt the family structure than if other siblings were there to fill the family role vacancies.

In comparing migrants and nonmigrants by using the number of siblings as a measure of family-of-origin size, one notes a tendency for the data to be distributed in the direction hypothesized (Table 2). These observed differences, however, are not statistically significant. Nevertheless, it should be noted that about 10 percent more of the nonmigrants than the migrants came from families with three children or less.

⁵ Classification according to Donald J. Bogue and Calvin L. Beale, *Economic Areas of the United States*, N. Y., Free Press of Glencoe (1961).

⁶ An alternative argument is that youths from smaller families are more likely to attend college because parents are in better financial positions to offer such assistance.

Table 2.— Number of Siblings Reported by Region of Residence in 1960 of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

Number of Siblings	Region of Residence 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
None	13	8.3	3	2.0
1-2	38	24.2	31	20.8
3-4	33	21.0	36	24.2
5-6	34	21.7	36	24.2
7-8	20	12.7	17	11.4
9-10	7	4.5	14	9.4
11 o. more	12	7.6	12	8.0
Total	157	100.0	149	100.0

$\chi^2 = 9.57$; d.f. = 6; $P > .05$

What makes this population different from populations of a similar age level in other parts of the United States—which might also relate to the fact that there were no statistically significant differences in size of family-of-origin between migrants and nonmigrants—is that the great majority of these young men came from families considerably larger than families in other parts of the United States. About half of these youths came from families having six or more children.

The large number of children typical of eastern Kentucky families and likewise, of the families-of-origin of the men in this study, indicates the problem confronting young people who seek jobs in the area. This fact, coupled with the fact that eastern Kentucky is predominantly a subsistence agricultural area, suggests the tremendous competition which might exist for jobs in the area if there were no large-scale outmigration. For instance, replacement ratios in the 11 counties from which the study population was drawn range from 154 in Menifee county to 226 in Breathitt county.⁷ Given a static labor market situation in a county like Breathitt, it would be necessary for 126 young men newly entering the labor force to seek employment elsewhere for every 100 who could find vacated jobs in the home county. Migration, then, from this area of limited job opportunities and large families is a mechanism by which the structure of eastern Kentucky society tends to be stabilized and through which young people from this area are offered a wider scope of opportunity for the development of their talents and the implementation of their career potentialities.

⁷ *Op.cit.*, Brown and Ramsey, Table 26.

Occupation of Father

There were no significant differences between migrants and non-migrants with respect to father's occupation (Table 3). After the fathers' occupations were classified according to the Edward's Occu-

Table 3.— Status of Father's Occupation by Region of Residence in 1960 of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

Father's Occupational Status	Region of Residence 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
White collar workers (professional, managerial, clerical)	19	13.5	21	15.0
Skilled workers	10	7.1	15	10.7
Semi-skilled workers	26	18.4	19	13.6
Farm operators	74	52.5	75	53.6
Unskilled (laborers, hired farm workers, domestics)	12	8.5	10	7.1
Total ^{a/}	141	100.0	140	100.0

(^{a/} This analysis excludes 10 migrants and 16 nonmigrants for whom information on the father's occupational status was not ascertainable or not available.)

$\chi^2 = 2.35$; d.f. = 4; $P > .05$

pational Scale, the agricultural base of the eastern Kentucky economy was clearly reflected.⁸ Over half of these youths came from families in which the male head was a farm operator.

Furthermore, a considerable number of the fathers classified in the other categories of this occupational status scale also were engaged in other agricultural jobs, such as hired labor on farms, and in other extractive industries, such as lumbering and mining. Data on the nature of the work task performed by the fathers show that at least 67 percent of these youths came from families in which the male head was engaged in the extractive industries.⁹ Thus, there

⁸ A. M. Edwards, *Population: Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940*, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

⁹ In this case, the father's occupation was classified according to the situs dimension (nature of work activity). See Richard T. Morris and Raymond J. Murphy, "The Situs Dimension in Occupational Structure," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (April 1959), pp. 231-239.

were no evident differences between these two segments in this aspect of their sociocultural background.

Education of Parents

The level of schooling attained by an individual's parents is, in many ways, an indicator of the sociocultural climate to which that individual was exposed during his early formative years, as well as an indicator of the social status of his family-of-origin and, thereby, his own.

No significant differences were found between migrants and non-migrants with respect to the education of parents. (Tables 4 and 5). In the great majority of cases, these young men came from families in which the parents did not possess more than an eighth grade

Table 4.— Highest Grade Schooling Completed by Father by Region of Residence in 1960 of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

Father's Schooling	Region of Residence 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 8th grade	63	40.9	59	41.3
8th grade	69	44.8	59	41.3
Some high school	9	5.8	9	6.3
High school graduate	6	3.9	5	3.4
Some college or college graduate	7	4.6	11	7.7
Total	154	100.0	143	100.0

$$x^2 = 2.06; \text{d.f.} = 4; P > .05$$

Table 5.— Highest Grade Schooling Completed by Mother by Region of Residence in 1960 of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

Mother's Schooling	Region of Residence 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 8th grade	48	30.8	49	33.1
8th grade	69	44.2	68	45.9
Some high school	22	14.1	20	13.5
High school graduate	10	6.4	6	4.1
Some college or college graduate	7	4.5	5	3.4
Total	156	100.0	148	100.0

$$x^2 = 1.24; \text{d.f.} = 4; P > .05$$

education. In only 16 percent of the cases did the fathers have more than eight grades of schooling; in only 23 percent of the cases did the mothers have more than eight grades.

These facts indicate that, for the most part, these young men had not been exposed to the sociocultural influences which more highly educated parents may bring into the family situation. This is not to say that schooling of parents *per se* determines the sociocultural "climate" of a family. It is clear, however, that any advantages which accrue to young people raised in family situations in which the parents have attained a higher level of schooling than that offered in the grade schools and, therefore, are in better positions to serve as achievement models for their children and to encourage them to set higher career goals are not characteristic of this study population.

Educational Level of Men in the Study

In view of the educational levels of the parents, it is encouraging to note the levels of schooling completed by these young men themselves (Table 6). Nearly half (45.3 percent) of them had completed high school and a considerable number (30 percent) of those who completed high school had gone on to college. Only about a third (31.3 percent) of the study population had ended their schooling before entering high school. This latter fact, however, plus the fact that a large number (23.4 percent) of the study population who started high school did not graduate, points to the scope of the school drop-out problem in low-income rural areas of the United States such as eastern Kentucky.

Migration did not appear to be selective with respect to level of schooling completed. No statistically significant differences were revealed in comparing the distribution of this trait among migrants and nonmigrants (Table 6).

Table 6.— Level of Schooling Completed by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky by Region of Residence in 1960

Level of Schooling Completed	Region of Residence 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
No high school	47	29.9	49	32.7
Some high school	36	23.0	36	24.0
High school graduate	47	29.9	50	33.3
Some college	27	17.2	15	10.0
Total	157	100.0	150	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 3.38 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3; P > .05$$

To those familiar with migration studies elsewhere, these findings, which indicate no educational selectivity, in out-migration, are noteworthy. First, because of limited job opportunities available in the eastern Kentucky area one would expect that out-migrants would tend to be those young men who had had more schooling than their contemporaries and were seeking opportunities to implement these talents. Actually, the reverse tendency was shown by the data; although not statistically significant, a larger proportion of the nonmigrant segment was high school graduates. Second, for the same reason that job opportunities are limited within eastern Kentucky, one might expect also that a somewhat larger proportion of those young men who had had little schooling compared with others would tend to migrate since they would not be in so favorable a position to compete with their more schooled contemporaries for the few jobs in the area. Again, the slight difference revealed is not significant.

This departure of the findings from theoretical expectations may be due to a number of reasons. For example: (1) the study population may be unique; in this case, for instance, migration from the eastern Kentucky area, as from other low income rural areas of the U.S., was probably influenced by the Korean War manpower mobilization efforts, (2) the definition of migration employed in this study is somewhat different from that used by the U.S. Census, and (3) the study population may not be representative of the total population in the age category in eastern Kentucky. Numerous other possible reasons for the finding of no educational selectivity in migration may be cited and speculated upon. However, the fact remains that in comparing the two segments in this study population no differences were observed, and the theoretical and practical significance of this fact is important enough to suggest further verification and research.

Almost all of those in this study who completed high school were products of eastern Kentucky schools. Over 75 percent of the migrants who graduated from high school had all of their high school training in eastern Kentucky; an additional 17 percent of the migrant high school graduates had most of their high school training in eastern Kentucky schools but had completed their diploma requirements through Armed Forces high school programs. Only two of the migrants attended high school elsewhere than in Kentucky. Similarly, about 96 percent of the nonmigrants had all of their high school experience in eastern Kentucky schools or in eastern Kentucky schools plus Armed Forces programs. Thus, we can say that the study population was relatively homogeneous with respect to where formal education was acquired.

**Summary: Sociocultural Origins and Background Characteristics
Of This Study Population**

It should be noted that this presentation has referred to *all* of the sociocultural background information about these men that is available from the survey data. There are many other things which we would like to know about the backgrounds of these young men. The data tell us, however, much about the sociocultural climates in which these men were reared during their early years and allow us to make some generalizations.

As pointed out earlier, a crucial question that must be asked if findings from this study are to be meaningfully interpreted is "Did the two segments of the study population stem from more or less similar sociocultural circumstances?" Seemingly, nothing in these data suggests they did not. With respect to only one situation, namely, counties of origin, was there disproportionate representation in the two segments. This is not at all noteworthy, since in most respects—social, cultural, economic—the 11 counties are very much alike. With respect to size of family-of-origin, there does seem to be some indication that the youths from very small families were less likely to migrate; but this trend is not statistically significant.

Thus, with a great deal of assurance one can say that the migrants and nonmigrants were drawn from similar sociocultural origins. The sociocultural origins of this study population can be summarized, as follows:

(1) In 1950, the young men were living in low-income rural counties of eastern Kentucky.

(2) The economy of this area is based on extractive industries, which, in the main, are at a subsistence or marginal level of productivity.

(3) Most of the men came from rural farm families. In more than half the cases, the father was a farm operator; in more than two-thirds, the father was employed in extractive industries; i.e., small-scale commercial agriculture, subsistence farming, or marginal mining.

(4) Most of the men came from very large families; more than half of them had five or more brothers and sisters.

(5) Most of them came from families in which the parents had very little formal education. In only a relatively few cases did the parents have more than eight grades of schooling.

(6) Nearly half of the men had completed high school; on the other hand, almost a third of them never even started high school.

(7) Almost all of them had all of their schooling experience in eastern Kentucky.

In concluding this first section, it should be re-emphasized that the sociocultural situation in the area from which this study population was drawn is, in many ways, not representative of that in other regions of the United States. The economic condition, the type of farming practiced, the social customs and mores, and the way of life of the people in this eastern Kentucky mountain area are quite different, say, from regions like the Corn Belt, the dairy lands of the north-central states, or the highly specialized farming areas of California. However, this does not make the findings from this study any less important; it is precisely because of the nature of this regional situation that commonly-held generalizations about human behavior can be put to the empirical test outside the usual sociocultural context under which they have been established elsewhere. Furthermore, many parallels can be drawn between the demographic/economic situation in eastern Kentucky and other regions of the world which are experiencing similar mass movements of rural peoples to rapidly industrializing urban centers; it would be difficult indeed to parallel these latter situations with that of Iowa farm boys migrating to Des Moines.¹⁰

SECTION TWO

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION AND ASPIRATIONS TO MIGRATE

This section is concerned mostly with the spatial dispersion and residential status of individuals in the study population in 1960, as well as their migration history and residential mobility during the decade 1950-60. Some attention also is directed to the aspirations and plans of these young men concerning future residential movement.

Residential Mobility of the Study Population Prior to 1950

Before entering the eighth grade in the school year 1949-50, few of the young men in the study population had lived outside their home counties. In fact, over 81 percent of these youths had *not* experienced a change of residence from the time of their birth until they left grade school, and only 7 percent had lived in what might be called an urban

¹⁰ For example, the large-scale migration of people from southern Italy to industrial centers in northern Italy, Germany, and even Australia is in certain respects quite similar to the movement of eastern Kentuckians to southern Ohio; both population movements have their origins in economically depressed circumstances and in familistically-oriented rural cultural situations.

situation (defined as an incorporated town with a population of 2,500 or more).

For the most part, these men lived during their early years almost wholly in rural eastern Kentucky. In this respect, as in other respects brought out in the preceding section, the study population was composed of young men drawn from similar sociocultural circumstances who, prior to 1950, had been exposed to very similar patterns of social experience.

Initial Residential Move After 1950

After 1950, as these youths came of age and completed or left school they migrated widely. Besides other reasons, they had the necessity of finding a place in the adult occupational world in the face of unfavorable economic circumstances at home.

During the decade 1950-60, the initial residential movement out of the county-of-origin, excluding military service, was usually to areas in the Ohio Valley (Table 7). Many of these individuals, of course, returned later and were included therefore in the "nonmigrant" seg-

Table 7.— Destination of Initial Residential Move Outside County-of-Origin by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky during the 10-Year Period, 1950-60^a

Area of Destination	Number	Percent of Total Who Had Moved Out of Their Home County Between 1950-60
Counties adjacent to home county	16	7.1
Other eastern Kentucky counties, not adjacent to home county	5	2.2

Other Kentucky areas, not in eastern Kentucky	36	16.0
Ohio	142	63.1
Other states, not Kentucky or Ohio	26	11.6
Total	225	100.0

a/ This table excludes 47 individuals who never established residence outside their county-of-origin, as well as 34 who left the county-of-origin only for military service but who then returned.

ment of the study population. For example, of the 157 individuals in the "non-migrant" segment, 38 (24 percent) had established residence in Ohio sometime during this 10-year period but had returned to eastern Kentucky prior to being interviewed in 1960. Only 81 individuals in the entire study population of 307 (Table 8) had never

changed their place of residence (except for military service). One concludes that the experience of migration and residential movement was shared by a large proportion of the study population, and only about half of the so-called nonmigrant segment were not migrants themselves at sometime during the decade.

Table 8.— Migration History Between 1950 and 1960 of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky^a

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Those residing within eastern Kentucky in 1960 (nonmigrant segment).....	(157)	(51.1)
Never established residence outside home county	47	15.3
Never established residence outside home county except for military service.....	34	11.1
Established residence outside home county but never outside eastern Kentucky.....	7	2.3
Established residence outside home county but never outside eastern Kentucky except for military service.....	8	2.6
Established civilian residence outside eastern Kentucky, but returned to eastern Kentucky by 1960.....	61	19.9
Those residing outside eastern Kentucky in 1960 (migrant segment).....	(150)	(48.9)
Never established residence back in eastern Kentucky again after they initially moved out	126	41.0
Established residence back in eastern Kentucky one or more times after initial move out ...	24	7.8
Total	307	100.0

a/ An "established residence" is defined as living for one month or longer in the same community.

Most of the individuals (86.8 percent) who did move out of their home counties during this period moved into city or suburban situations. This pattern of rural to urban migration is even more striking in the case of those who moved out of Kentucky during 1950-60; about 95 percent of them initially moved into a city. Thus, the movement of young men from eastern Kentucky is truly a classical example of rural to urban migration. Intervening opportunities in counties and towns adjacent to the home counties absorbed only a small fraction of this movement out of men seeking employment.

Over two-thirds of those young men who had moved out of their home county during this period gave "looking for a job" as the main reason for the initial move. In some of the other cases, the parents moved and the young man accompanied the family. In other cases,

the initial move was stimulated by entering the armed forces and then, after discharge, establishing residence outside eastern Kentucky, presumably for job reasons. In almost all cases of out-migration, the initial move was directly or indirectly (as when the parents moved) attributable to occupational and economic opportunities not available in the home county.

Military Service

During the period 1950-60, over a third (36.5 percent) of these young men served in the armed forces. For many, military experience was a prime mover; a large number enlisted or were drafted from their home counties and upon being discharged many decided not to return to eastern Kentucky but rather to seek civilian job opportunities in the Ohio Valley. Data from the study are insufficient for pursuing this aspect any more than simply suggesting that the influence of military experience should be investigated further in future studies.

Last Previous Residence Prior to 1960

The last previous residence of the young man prior to his place of residence in 1960, might or might not have been the same place to which he moved initially after 1950. For over two-thirds (68 percent) of the migrants living outside the eastern Kentucky region in 1960 the last previous residence was their home county-of-origin in eastern Kentucky. Likewise, for those living within the eastern Kentucky region in 1960, the last previous residence established by over half of those who had lived outside the county-of-origin during this period was in areas of the Ohio Valley outside of eastern Kentucky.

Thus, we have here an example of a type of migration that is very much like a stream between rural eastern Kentucky and the Ohio Valley industrial complex.¹¹ There is considerable back-and-forth flow of migrants (counter-currents) between these regions and, relatively speaking, much less movement between eastern Kentucky and other regions, for example, in the South, or between counties within the eastern Kentucky area itself.

Migration History of Study Population, 1950-60

Now let us examine the migration history of the study population during this decade (Table 8). The data show only 47 (15.3 percent) of this entire population of 307 young men had never

¹¹ The term "migration stream" is used and discussed by James S. Brown and George A. Hillery, Jr. "The Great Migration, 1940-1960," a chapter in Thomas R. Ford (editor), *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, University of Kentucky Press (1962).

lived outside their county-of-origin in eastern Kentucky during the 10-year period. Furthermore, 34 men (11.1 percent) had lived outside their home county only while in the military service and, thus, in effect, had never really changed their residential identification (81 men had never moved). In a few other cases (4.9 percent) the young men had moved to adjacent or other counties in eastern Kentucky but had never established civilian residence outside of the area during the period. Combining these, we find about one out of three (31.3 percent) of the young men in this population had never attempted or experienced migration as defined in this project, other than for military service.

On the other hand, over a third (38.9 percent) of the nonmigrant segment (19.9 percent of the total population) had established civilian residence outside the eastern Kentucky area during the decade, but had returned by 1960. This is an interesting group from many standpoints; for example, one might ask "Why did they return?—What happened?—Couldn't they make a go of it?—Did they get homesick?—etc." Over 77 percent of these men had lived in areas of Ohio during that period. In terms of their destination, then, we might infer that their initial departure was motivated by similar reasons as those who moved out and remained—that is, to find employment in the industrial Ohio Valley.

For young men residing outside eastern Kentucky in 1960, we find that 84 percent of them (41 percent of the study population) had never moved back to eastern Kentucky after initially moving away. From that standpoint, these were the "uprooted" who, in one way or another, had adapted themselves to existing circumstances and, although we do not know how happy or adjusted they were in these circumstances, their migration history suggests that they had been somewhat successful in coping with the problem of being away from parental homes, their families-of-origin, and the neighborhoods in which they were reared.

Contrary to expectations, those young men who were living outside eastern Kentucky in 1960 but had established residence one or more times back in eastern Kentucky after their initial migration, were not a large number (only 16 percent of the migration segment, which is only 7.8 percent of the total study population). This indicates that after a period of 10 years a considerable settling-down of the population occurred.¹²

In retrospect, one might present a good argument that the mi-

¹² Because of marriage and nuclear family ties that had been established during the decade, and because of career and job commitments, this is to be expected.

gration patterns evidenced by these 10-year histories of residential movement are essentially of three main types:

(1) Those who never left eastern Kentucky, except for military duty;

(2) Those who migrated from eastern Kentucky and never returned, except for visits, vacations, and the like, and;

(3) Those, who, on the basis of migration histories, exhibited a tendency toward some degree of residential instability. This latter group, which we could label the "betwixt and between" segment, was composed of eastern Kentucky men who had lived in the Ohio Valley area, and eastern Kentucky men who were living in the Ohio Valley area but who returned at least once to eastern Kentucky after their initial migration. From this perspective, Type 1 is represented by 31.3 percent of this study population, Type 2 by 41.0 percent, and Type 3, in many ways the most puzzling group, by 27.7 percent.

Spatial Distribution of the Study Population in 1960

In 1960, the migrants were found to be concentrated in two main areas: (1) in an area of southern Ohio covering an approximately 30-mile radius with Middletown at the center, and (2) in and around the city of Lexington, Kentucky (Table 9).¹³

As noted earlier, the study population, for a number of reasons, may not be completely representative of the population from which it was drawn. For instance, in the design of this study it was necessary to limit field work to the Ohio-Kentucky area; therefore, any generalizations about the spatial dispersion of young people from eastern Kentucky after 10 years must be limited to these boundaries because those young men who moved to other states were not included in the study. Furthermore, a large percentage of those young men who we estimate were residing in the Ohio-Kentucky area in 1960 were not contacted by the field workers for various reasons.

Even with these imposed restrictions on the survey's generality, however, one has cause to reflect on the reasons for the obvious clustering of migrants in certain areas of destination. For example,

¹³ A similar pattern of concentration has been noted in another study being conducted by the University of Kentucky Rural Sociology Department. In this case, all of the people who were living in a three neighborhood situation in the eastern Kentucky Mountains in 1942, were "followed-up" at their place of residence in 1961. It was found that this population, also, tended to cluster in much the same areas as the young men in the study reported here, and more important, the clustering effect was a phenomenon related to kinship structure. A theoretical discussion of the relationship between kinship ties and destination of migrants is found in: James S. Brown, Harry K. Schwarzwelher, and Joseph J. Mangalam, "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem-Family: An American Variation on a Theme by LePlay," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (March 1963).

Table 9.— Residence Location 1960 of Young Men Who were Enrolled in the Eighth Grade in 11 Eastern Kentucky Counties in 1950

Residence Location 1960	Total All Counties	
	No.	%
Eastern Kentucky	157	51.1
.....		
Lexington, Ky., area	19	6.2
Other Kentucky areas	12	3.9
.....		
Cincinnati area	18	5.9
Hamilton area	4	1.3
Middletown area	30	9.8
Dayton area	51	16.6
Other Ohio areas	16	5.2
Total	307	100.0

one might ask why so many migrants concentrated in the Dayton-Middletown-Cincinnati area of southern Ohio, and so few in the industrial centers of northern Ohio? Factors other than distance from home and industrial opportunity available in the particular areas may have some influence in determining where migrants go after they leave eastern Kentucky. It is quite likely, for example, that non-economic social factors such as person-to-person communication between the areas, the social environment and family-kinship networks within the receiving areas, family-kinship ties between the areas, and the like, play a more important part in determining the destination of migrants than is commonly supposed.¹⁴

An additional fact, although not obvious from the tabular presentation (Table 8), is inherent in these data on the spatial distribution of this population. Migration from eastern Kentucky often means that the young man had moved a considerable distance away from his family-of-origin. For example, in the case of the migrant segment of this study population, in 1960 over two-thirds (68 percent) lived more than 100 miles from their parental homes. On the other hand, only a relatively few (12 percent) of the nonmigrants lived more than 10 miles from parental homes. Thus, the fact of living outside eastern Kentucky not only means that the young men were probably living in or near a city rather than in a rural situation and probably had greater access to economic opportunities than their nonmigrant counterparts, but also that they were, in most cases, spatially removed

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

from the more frequent contact with parents and close kin at home than is possible for those who have not migrated.

Residence Status in 1960

As one would expect, the great majority (78 percent) of the nonmigrants in 1960 lived in what the U.S. Census would classify as rural residences, whereas, almost all (94 percent) of the migrants lived in urban areas. This fact is important for understanding the respective situations. The nonmigrants were rural-reared young men who in 1960 lived in rural situations, usually their home county-of-origin, whereas the migrants were also rural-reared young men whose sociocultural backgrounds were quite similar to those of their nonmigrant counterparts, but who had been "transplanted" so to speak, and lived in urban situations vastly different from their home environs.

Furthermore, most of the nonmigrants (91 percent) resided in what are termed "private dwellings"; i.e., separate, one-family homes, and in many cases (31 percent) with their parents. On the other hand, only about half of the migrants (49 percent) lived in private dwellings, and only a very few (3 percent) with their parents. That a large proportion (42 percent) of the migrants lived in apartments, and others (9 percent) in rooming houses, YMCA's, and the like, is not, by itself, a meaningful fact unless one understands something of the sociocultural milieu in which the population had been reared. For example, individualism (the desire to control one's own destiny), familism (the desire to refer individual action to extended family norms), and a belief in the desirability of sharply defined property rights ("what's mine is mine, and what's yours is yours") are strongly endorsed by the value hierarchy of the eastern Kentucky sociocultural system.¹⁵ It is not unlikely, therefore, that apartment dwelling would generate some adjustment problems in the process of individuals becoming integrated into the urban community.

Another related difference in the residential status of the respective segments of this study population is the simple fact that in 1960 only 4 percent of the migrants lived rent free (with their parents), whereas over 37 percent of the nonmigrants lived rent free. Although a similar proportion (27 percent) of both segments owned their own homes, nearly 67 percent of the migrants compared with 24 percent of the nonmigrants were required to pay cash rent. One can read

¹⁵ For example, see the excellent discussion of familism and other basic orientations in a Kentucky mountain community, by James S. Brown, *The Family Group in a Kentucky Mountain Farming Community*, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 588 (June 1952) pp. 36-38.

much into this information, but the two situations can be summed up best as being a further demonstration of what anyone familiar with the two situations would expect—the residential situation in eastern Kentucky centers around the private dwelling and, quite often, the parental household; whereas in the areas to which these youths migrated, the housing situation is typically an apartment house arrangement which demands monthly cash payments.

It is noteworthy, therefore, that there were no significant differences between the two segments in the length of time they had been living in their 1960 places of residence (Table 10). In fact, there seems to be a trend in these data suggesting greater residential

Table 10.—Length of Time Young Men from Eastern Kentucky Had Been Living at Present Residence (1960), by Region of Residence in 1960

Length of Time at Present Residence a/ (1960)	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrant)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrant)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 2 years	39	24.8	36	24.0
2-4 years	52	33.2	39	26.0
5 years or longer	66	42.0	75	50.0
Total	157	100.0	150	100.0

a/Note: If military service intervened the period was counted as continuous if the individual returned to the same residence after being discharged.

$\chi^2 = 2.40$ d.f. = 2; $P > .05$

stability on the part of the migrants. Only about one-fourth of both segments of the study population had been living at their 1960 address for less than 2 years prior to being interviewed. Thus, although the migration data suggest that we are dealing here with a highly mobile population, one must remember that this migration occurred over a 10-year period in the lives of young men newly entering the occupational world and also, that information on their residential mobility during the latter part of this period (Table 10) would suggest again that a considerable settling-down had occurred. The single most important observation one should make from these data is that half of the migrant segment had lived for 5 years or longer at the same residence; the residential mobility of nonmigrants is as great if not greater than that of migrants.

Aspirations to Migrate

An individual's satisfaction with his community and place of residence is, to some extent, indicative of his future residential mobility. If an individual is satisfied where he lives and the labor market in the area continues its demands for his services and talents and in return, offers him a desirable level of living and a reasonable degree of economic security, then he is less likely to move than if this were not so.

After each respondent had been asked a series of questions about how he rated the community in which he lived, he was asked:

(1) "If you could, would you like to move to some other place?" (Where and Why?)

(2) "Do you expect to move to some other place in the near future?" (Where and Why?)

The first question, soliciting a free choice response, was labeled the respondent's "aspiration." The second question, demanding a more realistic appraisal of his own particular situation, was for convenience, labeled as the respondent's "plan."

In terms of aspirations, a considerably larger proportion of the nonmigrants (72 percent) compared with the migrants (45 percent) expressed a negative response. Interpreted, this means a greater degree of satisfaction on the part of the nonmigrants (Table 11). As noted earlier, most migrants were quite far removed in spatial distance

Table 11.—Aspiration of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky to Move to Some Other Place, by Region of Residence in 1960

Response	Region of Residence 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Negative ("no")	112	72.3	67	45.0
Positive ("yes")	43	27.7	82	55.0
Total	155	100.0	144	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 23.29 \quad \text{d.f.} = 1; P < .01$$

from their parental homes. The main reason stated by the migrants for wishing to move elsewhere is, in over 46 percent of these cases, because their "home is back in Kentucky." Job reasons were mentioned by only 6 percent and a variety of other reasons made up the difference. On the other hand, over 71 percent of the nonmigrants who wished to move gave job reasons as their principal consideration.

Here, we observe quite clearly two major forces in opposition: (1) economic and material opportunities available outside eastern Kentucky which tend to attract young people newly recruited to the labor force, and (2) family-kinship-neighborhood ties which, almost by definition, mean "home" to the migrant and tend either to discourage young people from migrating or to make the new migrant uncomfortable, homesick, and dissatisfied. The balance between these forces—the manner in which young men from eastern Kentucky coped with the personal strains generated by this duality—is, we would argue, a problem of adjustment that confronts almost any young man entering the labor force from eastern Kentucky regardless of whether or not he migrates.

It is also quite clear, as shown by a comparison between the data on plans (Table 12) and aspirations to move (Table 11) as well as information previously presented on residential stability, that most

Table 12.—Plan of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky to Move to Some Other Place in the Near Future, by Region of Residence in 1960

Response	Region of Residence 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Negative ("no")	119	79.9	114	79.2
Positive ("yes")	30	20.1	30	20.8
Total	149	100.0	144	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 0.02 \quad \text{d.f.} = 1: P > .05$$

of the migrants had made the necessary adjustments. Almost 4 out of 5 of the migrants (79.2 percent) said they did not expect to move in the near future. Thus, we have a situation where the pull of home and parental family ties had been relegated to a form of nostalgia. Recognizing the danger of overgeneralizing from limited data, one might, nevertheless, suggest the hypothesis that the Type 3 individuals in this study population (the betwixt and between segment) were those in whom conflicts generated by these dual forces had not yet been resolved.

It is evident that the nonmigrants were, for the most part, fairly satisfied where they lived; only 1 out of 5 expected to move in the near future. A large number of migrants, on the other hand, expressed

some dissatisfaction with their present circumstances, but when they more realistically appraised their situations, only 1 out of 5, as in the case of their nonmigrant counterparts, planned to move. It was concluded, therefore, that both segments had more or less resolved the conflict of forces that lead to residential change and migration, and that we could expect under normal external circumstances a greater degree of stability of this particular population during the decade 1960-70 than was true of them during the decade 1950-60.

Summary: Patterns of Migration and Aspirations to Migrate

Prior to 1950, during their formative years, few of these young men had changed residence or lived outside of their home counties. After 1950, as they came of age and completed or left school, the necessity of finding a job in the face of limited opportunities at home caused a large-scale dispersion of these men from their counties-of-origin. Most of those who migrated moved into urban situations in the industrial Ohio Valley. Some who initially made this move, for one reason or the other, moved back to eastern Kentucky; in some cases, a number of back-and-forth moves occurred. However, most of the men living outside eastern Kentucky in 1960 (84 percent) had never moved back after their initial out-migration. Likewise, a large proportion of the young men living within eastern Kentucky in 1960 (61.1 percent) had never lived outside of eastern Kentucky during that period except for military service.

We have some evidence to conclude that the residential mobility of this population had stabilized after the initial surge of out-migration from the area. This is substantiated by the fact that 3 out of 4 of the young men in the total study population had lived for 2 years or more at the same address (in 1960). Similarly, in terms of their plans to move "in the near future," 4 out of 5 responded negatively, indicating a strong tendency toward residential stability on the part of a large proportion of the population.

Of course, some of these youths still (in 1960) seemed to be in a trial and error phase (i.e., a "betwixt and between segment"); the evidence suggests that from 20 to about 25 percent of the entire study population might be so designated. If this prediction proves correct, the situation begins to assume enormous proportions as a social problem¹⁶ when one conservatively generalizes regarding the thousands of young men who reach adulthood each year under similar circumstances in eastern Kentucky and low-income rural areas elsewhere.

¹⁶ That is, if residential stability is at all indicative of social stability and adjustment.

The personal conflicts and social strains generated by a sociocultural situation in which rural youths, in their quest for jobs and economic opportunity, must leave family, friends, and familiar surroundings and move into the more unfamiliar environment of an urban, industrial situation, merits a great deal more research attention.¹⁷

¹⁷ Further reports in this series probe other aspects of this situation.